

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 AEC-11 AF-10 ARA-16 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-11

EUR-25 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NASA-04 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-10 OIC-04 PA-03 PRS-01 RSC-01 SCI-06

SS-15 MBFR-03 USIA-12 SAJ-01 RSR-01 ADP-00 /200 W

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R 171750Z JUL 73

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 525

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NY

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3676

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: STATUS OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS ISSUE AT CCD

DISTO

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THUS FAR IN CURRENT CCD SESSION, US TACTICS SEEM TO BE ACHIEVING THEIR PURPOSE: ATTENTION TO SOVIET CW DRAFT CONVENTION HAS BEEN MINIMIZED, A FLUID SITUATION HAS BEEN MAINTAINED IN COMMITTEE'S WORK ON CW ISSUE, AND AVENUES HAVE BEEN KEPT OPEN FOR RANGE OF POSSIBLE US POLICY OPTIONS. SERIES OF US STATEMENTS HAS FOCUSED COMMITTEE'S ATTENTION ON NUMBER OF BASIC ISSUES RAISED IN MEMO TABLED LAST SESSION BY TEN NON-ALIGNED NATIONS. SEVERAL OF LATTER MAY RESPOND NOW THAT  
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WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR SERIES OF COMMENTARIES ON MEMO.

JAPANESE DEL HAS MEANWHILE REAFFIRMED ITS INTEREST IN PRODUCTION BAN AND PLANS FURTHER CONTRIBUTION IN ELABORATION OF ITS VIEWS. UK AMB HAINWORTH PERSONALLY FAVORS CONTRIBUTION BY HIS DEL ON SELECTED CW ISSUES BUT OFFICIALS IN LONDON APPARENTLY REMAIN UNCERTAIN HOW BEST TO PROCEED. UK DEL HAS RECENTLY REMINDED US THAT A PRODUCTION BAN WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR UK TO SUPPORT. SOVIETS INITIALLY WELCOMED US INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE MORE ACTIVELY IN CW DISCUSSIONS BUT HAVE SINCE GROWN RESTIVE AND FRUSTRATED OVER ABSENCE OF CONCRETE US PROPOSAL. THEY SEEM PREPARED NEGOTIATE CW MEASURE BUT RECOGNIZE THAT US STATEMENTS ARE KEEPING THEIR OWN DRAFT CONVENTION SUBMERGED WITHOUT PROVIDING SUBSTITUTE PROPOSAL WITH WHICH SOVIETS CAN COME TO GRIPS. WHILE PRESSING US TO MAKE ITS OWN PROPOSAL, SOVIETS CAN BE EXPECTED TO INCREASINGLY HIGHLIGHT THEIR OWN DRAFT AND, AS SESSION CONTINUES, SOVIETS WILL NO DOUBT INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS PUT ONUS ON US FOR LACK OF CONCRETE PROGRESS ON CW ISSUE. IN VIEW OF GENERAL NON-ALIGNED DESIRE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS AND SOVIET DECLARATIONS OF READINESS TO DO SO, IT IS LIKELY THAT SOVIET EFFORTS WILL STRIKE RESPONSIVE CHORD WITH NON-ALIGNED DELS AS UNGA APPROACHES. END SUMMARY.

2. THUS FAR IN SUMMER CCD SESSION, SOVIET CW DRAFT CONVENTION HAS BEEN KEPT FROM LIMELIGHT AND COMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATION OF CW ISSUE HAS REMAINED FLUID, THEREBY KEEPING THE WAY OPEN FOR RANGE OF POSSIBLE US POLICY OPTIONS. THUS, AT THIS POINT IN TIME, OBJECTIVES OF US TACTICS ARE BEING ACHIEVED. SERIES OF US STATEMENTS FOCUSED ON ISSUES RAISED IN MEMO TABLED LAST SESSION BY TEN NON-ALIGNED NATIONS HAVE HELPED IN HEADING OFF DANGER THAT SOVIET DRAFT WILL BE MADE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND OBJECT OF FORMAL AMENDMENTS. SEVERAL NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS MAY RESPOND NOW THAT OUR SERIES OF COMMENTARIES ON THEIR MEMO HAS BEEN COMPLETED. PRIVATE REACTIONS OF NON-ALIGNED REPS TO OUR COMMENTARIES HAVE BEEN MIXED; THERE HAS BEEN SOME SCEPTICISM ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS BUT AT THE SAME TIME A DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF SEVERAL DELS TO JOIN US IN THE TYPE OF DISCUSSION WE HAVE SOUGHT TO GET UNDERWAY. GENERALLY, HOWEVER, NON-ALIGNED ARE FRUSTRATED

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OVER REALIZATION THAT THERE CAN BE NO SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT ON CW ISSUE WITHOUT US PROPOSAL. SOVIET EFFORTS TO PIN BLAME FOR NO CONCRETE PROGRESS ON US (DESCRIBED BELOW) ARE LIKELY TO HAVE INCREASING RESONANCE WITH NON-ALIGNED AS THE NEXT UNGA APPROACHES. WHILE ADMITTING SUPERFICIALITY OF SOVIET TREATY, PARTICULARLY ITS VERIFICATION PROVISIONS, AND RECOGNIZING SERIOUS TENOR OF US ANALYTICAL STATEMENTS, NON-ALIGNED DELS DESIRE PRINCIPALLY TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS

ON ACTUAL TREATY PROVISIONS. FACED WITH SOVIET  
PROTESTATIONS OF READINESS TO NEGOTIATE, THEY WILL ALMOST  
CERTAINLY ASSIGN FAILURE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS TO ABSENCE  
OF DEFINITE US POSITIONS ON KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

3. AS FOR OUR ALLIES, ITALIANS AND DUTCH DELS HAVE  
RAMAINED ON SIDELINES BUT CANADIANS ARE CONSIDERING  
TABLING TECHNICAL WORKING PAPERRWARDS END OF JULY PER-  
TAINING TO CLASSIFIECATION OF VARIOUS AGENTS. JAPANESE  
MADE STATEMENT EARLY IN SUMMER SESSION REAFFIRMING THEIR  
INTEREST IN PARTIAL APPROACH INVOLVING PRODUCTION BAN.  
AT JAPANESE REQUEST, WE HAD EXTENSIVE MEETING WITH THEIR  
STAFF AND A VISITING JAPANESE CW EXPERT AND,AS PROVIDED  
IN OUR GUIDANCE, WE INFORMED THEM WE WOULD WELCOME THEIR  
FURTHER ELABORATION OF THEIR APPROACH. JAPANESE HAVE  
INDICATED THEY HAVE ASKED TOKYO FOR AUTHORIZATION TO DO  
THIS. WE STRESSED THAT US IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT  
ITSELF TO AGREE TO ANY PARTICULAR PROHIBITIONS AT THIS TIME  
AND THAT IF WE WERE IN POSITION MAKE A PROPOSAL OF OUR  
OWN LATER IN SESSION THERE WOULD BE PRIOR CONSULTATIONS  
WITH JAPANESE AND OUR NATO ALLIES.

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SS-15 MBFR-03 USIA-12 SAJ-01 RSR-01 ADP-00 /200 W

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R 171750Z JUL 73

FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 526  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
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AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3676

4. IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR GUIDANCE, WE ENCOURAGED BRITISH EARLY IN SESSION TO TABLE THEIR IDEAS REGARDING INSPECTION PROCEDURES THEY MIGHT THINK APPROPRIATE FOR COMPREHENSIVE PROHIBITIONS. AMB HAINWORTH INDICATED HE PERSONALLY HOPED FOR AUTHORIZATION MAKE CONTRIBUTION ALONG THOSE LINES BUT HIS DELEGATION IS NOT OF A SINGLE MIND ON THIS ISSUE; THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE LOATH TO ELABORATE ON A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH BECAUSE THEY EXPECT A PARTIAL MEASURE WILL ULTIMATELY EMERGE AT THE COMMITTEE. (WE HAVE EXPLAINED THAT WE FEEL DISCUSSION OF THE VERIFICATION ASPECTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF CCD'S WORK.) OPINIONS IN LONDON ALSO SEEM TO BE DIVIDED. UK FOREIGN OFFICE CW ACTION OFFICER, WHILE VISITING GENEVA, EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW THAT A US PROPOSAL OF PARTIAL MEASURE WOULD, IF WE DID NOT TRY TO RUSH IT THROUGH, CONFIDENTIAL

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GET GREEN LIGHT AT NATO. LATEST INDICATION, HOWEVER, IS THAT UK MINISTER AMERY REMAINS RELUCTANT AUTHORIZE ANY FURTHER STEPS AT PRESENT BY UK DEL AND, RECENTLY, AMB HAINWORTH REMINDED US THAT A PRODUCTION BAN WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR UK TO SUPPORT.

5. SOVIET AMB ROSHCIN INITIALLY WELCOMED US INTENTION PARTICIPATE MORE ACTIVELY IN CW DISCUSSIONS BUT SUBSEQUENTLY HE HAS STRONGLY PRESSED IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FOR CONCRETE US PROPOSAL. IN PLENARY STATEMENTS, SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE FELT OBLIGED TO REASSERT THE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH PROVIDED FOR IN THEIR DRAFT CONVENTION. PRIVATELY, THOUGH, ROSHCIN HAS CONTINUED TO INDICATE TO US SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY US PROPOSAL OF PARTIAL NATURE AND THEREBY GET NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY. SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN SIGNS OF FRUSTRATION, HOWEVER, BECAUSE US TACTICS HAVE KEPT SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION SUBMERGED WITHOUT PROVIDING ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL WITH WHICH USSR COULD COME TO GRIPS. IN ADDITION, OUR ACTIVE DISCUSSION OF NON-ALIGNED MEMO HAS SOMEWHAT IMPROVED US IMAGE IN COMMITTEE. IN THEIR OWN PLENARY STATEMENTS, SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE RECENTLY GEGUN TO EXPRESS AGREEMENT WITH NUMBER OF POINTS IN NON-ALIGNED MEMO, INCLUDING SOME NON-CONTROVERSIAL ONES THAT WE, TOO, HAVE ENDORSED. AT SAME TIME, SOVIETS HAVE FELT NEED TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THEIR OWN DRAFT CONVENTION, UNDERLINING AREAS IN WHICH IT AGREES WITH NON-ALIGNED MEMO. THEY HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT THEIRS IS ONLY

CONCRETE PROPOSAL TO HAVE BEEN PRESENTED AND HAVE SOUGHT  
TO PUT ONUS ON US FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN CCD'S WORK  
ON CW ISSUE. AS SESSION PROCEEDS, SOVIETS WILL  
UNDOUBTEDLY STEP UP THESE EFFORTS.

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